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# THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION, A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON COMMUNITIES WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION. KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY SHORT COURSE SERIES IN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, 3.

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE DEVELOPED IN THIS MONOGRAPH (PART OF A KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY SERIES ON COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT) FOCUSES ON THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECOLOGICAL STRUCTURING OF COMMUNITIES BOTH LARGE AND SMALL, THE CHARACTER OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND OF INTERACTION IN COMMUNITIES, (INCLUDING PATTERNS OF VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND NONPARTICIPATION), COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES AND LEADERSHIP, COMMUNITY CLEAVAGES AND CONFLICT, AND THE TREND TOWARD GREATER INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG COMMUNITIES. AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO SET FORTH THE TRENDS THAT HAVE OCCURRED BECAUSE OF URBANIZATION AND TO EXAMINE IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY PLANNING AND ACTION. IN PARTICULAR, AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THE DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES AND SERVICES IN KANSAS IS SEEN IN THE OPTIMISTIC RESPONSES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS TO A RECENT SURVEY ON THE FEASIBILITY OF FORMING INTEGRATED COMPLEXES OF SMALL COMMUNITIES. (THE DOCUMENT INCLUDES EIGHT CHARTS AND 32 REFERENCES.) (LY)

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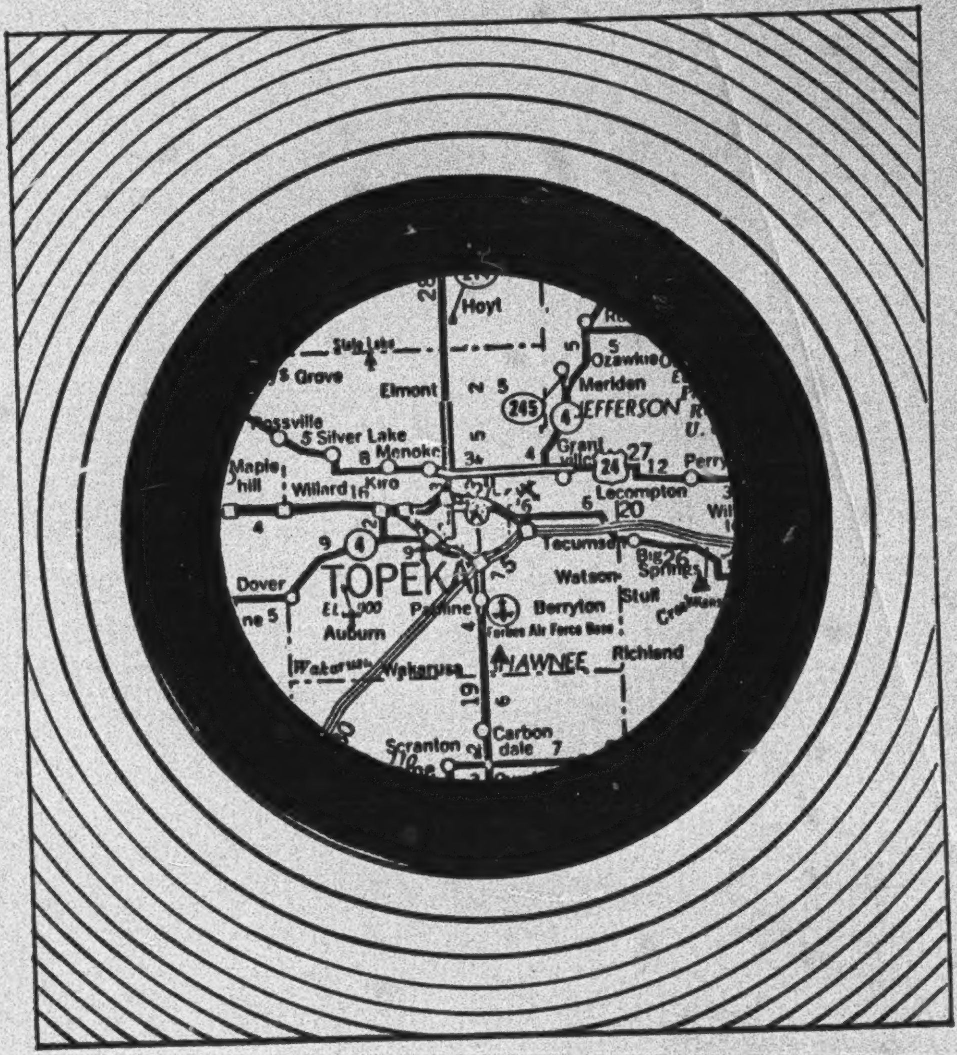
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# THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION

## The Social Aspects

3

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# THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION

## A Sociological Perspective On Communities With An Emphasis On The Social Aspects Of Urbanization

by

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April 1967

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# A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON COMMUNITIES WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION

**MAJOR ELEMENTS IN THE COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF A COMMUNITY**

A community may be defined in terms of the following major elements:

(1) a population
(2) a locale
(3) a framework of organizations
(4) a body of rules to live by
(5) a structure of formally and informally delegated authority
(6) public-serving facilities and services

A comprehensive look at and an understanding of a community thus involves an examination of the characteristics of the people who compose it, the physical setting which it occupies, the ways in which its people are organized and interact within the system, the character of the codes which govern their lives, the mechanisms they have devised to secure compliance with the codes and the ways in which they utilize their resources to meet basic survival needs and socially inculcated desires. Such an analysis is obviously a large task calling for the specialized knowledge of several experts. While these aspects are all interrelated and it is impossible to get into one without involving others, it is possible to focus primarily on the physical setting (the main job of the planner and geographer), the structure of authority (the main job of the political scientist), the organization and utilization of scarce resources to provide facilities and services to the people (the main job of the economist), or to analyze the people, the interaction systems they have formed and the codes by which they live (the main job of the sociologist). It is upon the latter that this section will be focused.

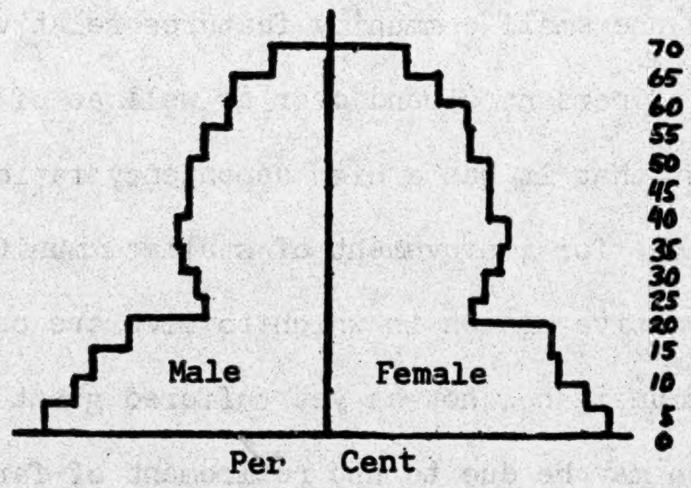
More specifically, the sociological perspective developed here will focus upon the demographic-ecological structuring of communities, the character of social organization and of interaction within communities, community power structures and leadership, community cleavages, and community interrelationships. An attempt will be made in each instance to set forth the trends which have occurred because of urbanization and examine the implications for community planning and action.

## THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECOLOGICAL STRUCTURING OF COMMUNITIES: IMPACT OF URBANIZATION

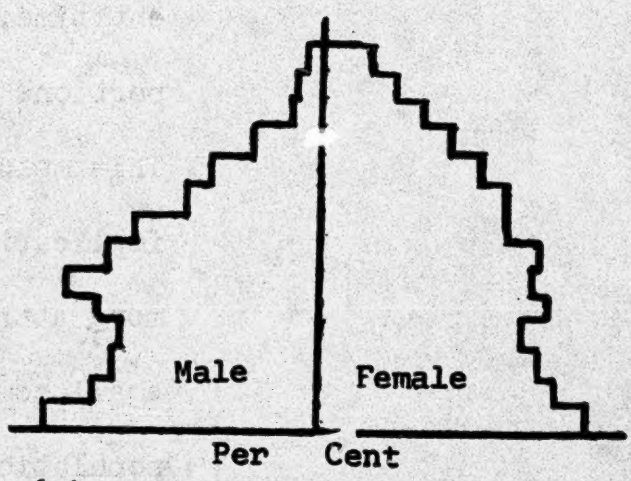
The demographic-ecological structuring of communities has reference to two basic features with implications for those in charge of community development and planning: (1) the composition of the population residing in the community and (2) its distribution within the locale. A professional analysis of the demographic structure often involves construction of "population pyramids" describing the population in terms of age, sex, race, ethnicity, occupation, social class or other special features. These population pyramids serve not only to accurately describe the present inhabitants of a community in essential respects, but they are also interpreted for their implications as regards probable trends. An ecological analysis involves construction of population pyramids for those distinct sub-areas of communities termed "natural areas." Examples of such areas in popular terminology are slums, middle-class residential suburbs, and apartment house districts.

### Small Community and Urban Community Population Contrasts

Small communities and large communities differ generally as indicated by the following population pyramids depicting their age and sex composition.



(A) TYPICAL SMALL TOWN
(Under 1,000)



(B) TYPICAL LARGER COMMUNITY
(10,000 - 25,000)

The urban community, in comparison to the small community, has typically featured a somewhat smaller proportion of the population in the teens, but a significantly higher proportion of the population in the young adult years. Additionally, we note the excess of females 20 to 55 or 60 in the urban center. The small town population pyramid is that of a stationary or declining community. It features an obvious deficiency of young adults - especially those in their twenties. Since these are the main reproductive years, the demographic outlook is for decline barring unforseen in-migration. On the other hand, the outlook for the urban center is an increasingly rapid rate of growth. Young adults are migrating from the rural communities and small towns to seek careers in larger communities with better employment prospects. Most of them will undoubtedly rear their families in these urban settings. Coupling this trend with that of increased birth rates in urban as well as rural areas, the outlook is for continuing large increases in the numbers and proportion of youth in the cities. At the present time, the small community features relatively high proportions of persons 65 and over as well as of youth under 20. This means that it has a high dependency ratio. The tax revenue implications for improvement of small communities to make them more attractive places in which to live are obvious. That the small community has not as yet suffered great declines in population may be due to the retirement of farm people and their movement into the nearby small town in which they have traded all their lives.

Beyond the differences between the small community at one end of the scale and the large metropolitan area at the other, demographers have noted certain important relationships between population composition and size of community. Some of the most significant of the changes which take place as the size of community increases are these:(7)

(1) The proportion of the population 65 years of age and older declines.

(2) The fertility ratio (children under 5 per 1,000 women

aged 20 to 44) declines.

(3) The proportion of the population native born white declines.

(4) The proportion married (compared to that expected on the basis of age composition) declines.

(5) The average level of education achieved by adults 25 years of age and over increases.

(6) The median personal income increases.

(7) The proportion of females participating in the labor force increases.

(8) The proportion of persons working in higher socio-economic status white collar work increases.

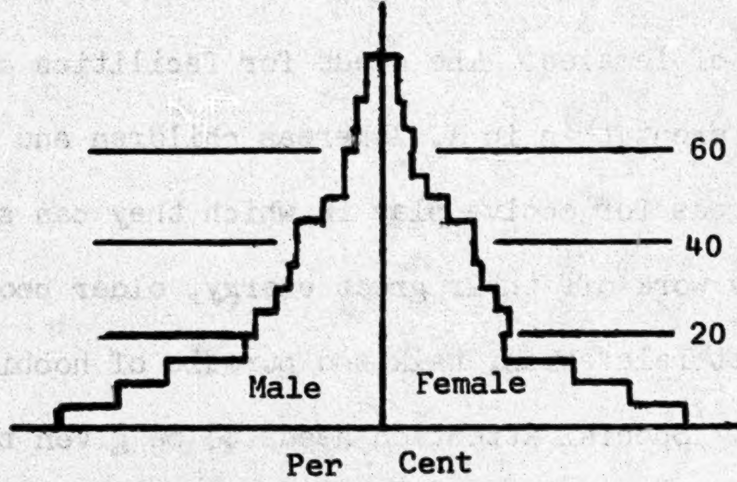
These facts suggest that, with increasing urbanization, the role of women shifts increasingly toward work; the community is decreasingly family centered; career interests and opportunities loom larger as an attractive alternative to the family-centered life or an excuse to defer such a life. In fact, as we shall see, some areas of the larger center have little family life.

The facts also suggest that heterogeneity is directly related to size. Minority peoples reach sizable proportions in the larger centers. Since the Civil War, racial and ethnic minorities have been attracted mainly to urban centers; there is some evidence that a substantial flow is presently taking place out of rural areas - especially of the South - into urban centers of the North and West. These migrants have mainly settled in highly congested central core areas adjacent to the central business districts (CBDs) of such communities. Thus far, the migration has affected mainly the larger urban centers. A dispersion of minority migrants may occur, however, in the near future as barriers to employment at the higher socioeconomic levels are destroyed by enforcement of existing legislation against discrimination in smaller places.

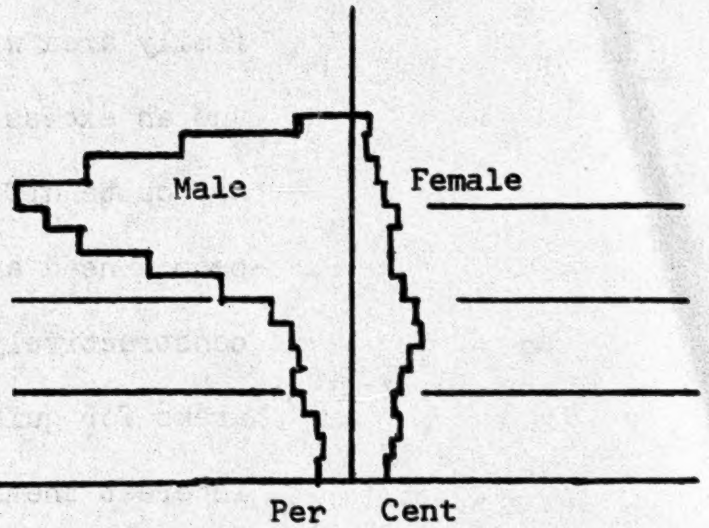
## "Natural Areas" Within Communities

Within the urban community, areas of distinct physical and social characteristics begin to emerge. These are called "natural areas" because they are not planned but emerge rather through the processes of symbiosis and segregation. Symbiosis is the tendency for functionally related activities to locate in physical proximity to one another (for example, hotels, restaurants, theatres and night clubs); segregation is the tendency for differing peoples and functions believed to be incompatible to sort out and locate in mutually exclusive areas. Symbiosis seems to have developed mainly along rational lines in response to economic considerations; segregation, however, has been influenced by subjective psychological factors such as like and dislike. In any event, the result has been the creation of distinct sub-communities of orientation and distinct social systems within which there is much social interaction and between which interaction is, in some cases, sharply limited. Whatever the reasons and however compelling the rationale upon aesthetic, economic or other grounds, the result has been - from a social point of view - a fragmentation of the community social system with all that implies for integration and a community which can act in concert to solve community-wide problems.

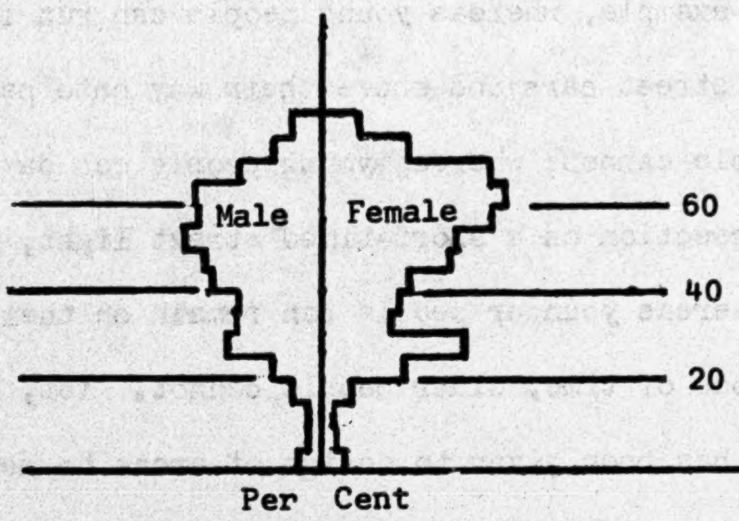
The following population pyramids characterize the age-sex composition of typical "natural areas" to be found within urban centers of medium to large size.(20)



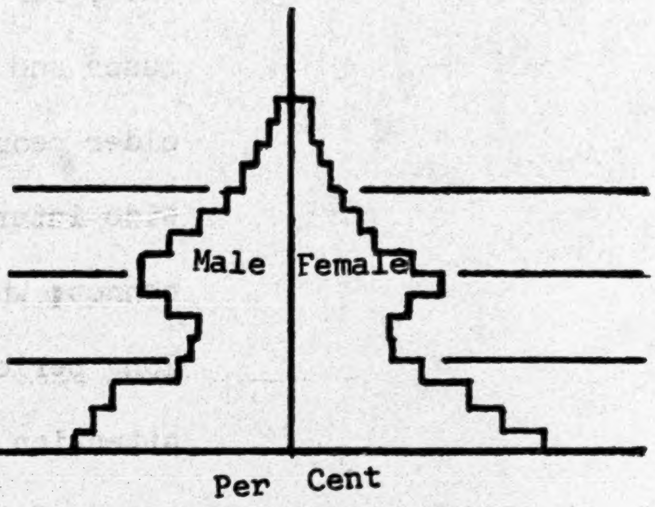
(A) PUBLIC HOUSING AREA



(B) FOREIGN-BORN IMMIGRANT AREA



(C) CENTRALLY LOCATED APARTMENT-ROOMING HOUSE AREA



(D) TYPICAL MIDDLE-CLASS SUBURBAN AREA

**The Differing Needs of Differing Natural Areas**

A careful analysis of these pyramids will tell much about the people living in various parts of the community and thus enable rational planning of appropriate facilities and services. We note, for example, that area A is one featuring young and unusually large families. The great need is for facilities and services appropriate to young children (nurseries, playgrounds, elementary schools, etc.). Area C, on the other hand, is a non-family area with an unusually high proportion of older persons and an excess of females. The needs for facilities and services are quite different than in A. Whereas children and young people need areas for active play in which they can safely and constructively work off their great energy, older people need areas for quiet relaxation, talk and pursuit of hobbies which interest them. Special attention needs to be given to transportation, traffic flow and the design of structures for areas in which older people comprise the bulk of the population. Thus, for example, whereas young people can run for fast-moving buses and street cars and shove their way onto packed vehicles, older people cannot; whereas young people can dash across a wide intersection on a short-timed street light, older people cannot; whereas younger people can remain on their feet for long periods of time, older people cannot. Yet, little attention has been given to design of areas to meet the special needs of their inhabitants--to such things as safety islands in the middle of wide boulevards, generous placement of sheltered benches along streets, construction of non-slip sidewalks, etc. in natural areas catering to older people. In short, we have scarcely scratched the surface of rational planning for diversity which takes the demographic-ecological characteristics of the community and its natural areas into consideration.

## COMMUNITY GROWTH AND THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF HUMAN INTERACTION

A very significant phenomenon of our time is the redistribution of the American population. It is becoming increasingly urban, increasingly concentrated in space with a rising density of human interaction. Between 1950 and 1960, the medium-sized communities (in the range 25,000 to 100,000) of this country had the highest growth rates and gained the greatest number of people; the smallest communities (under 1,000) contained a smaller proportion of the American population at the end of the decade than they had at the start and also lost nearly 100,000 people. The situation in Kansas is, perhaps, indicative. The state sustained a population increase of 14.4% during the decade; its urban population increased 33% during the period, its rural population declined 6%. As one consequence, the social systems within which people typically spend their lives are now much larger than they once were.

### Interaction in the Small Town

The small town of America constitutes a distinctive social system which stands in marked contrast to the urban center. In terms of numbers it is small enough that its members know most of the others in the system quite well. When they interact, they do so as known entities who mean something to each other as unique individuals. Such relationships can be very satisfying or very frustrating. Mutual help patterns tend to prevail;

so, also, do mutual gossip and interference. In the small social system, as Simmel pointed out, relationships tend to be more intense, the sense of involvement higher.(23) Additionally, the small system tends to rely more upon traditional arrangements and solutions to problems; rights and wrongs are of a clear hue; relativistic thinking does not prevail. Identification with the group tends to be strong, fostered by the frequent and extensive interaction between the people of the small community. Since the small social system is relatively homogeneous as compared to a larger system, there is much more agreement as to norms; the norms consequently carry greater force; behavior is strongly conventional. These systems are slow to change. Experimentation is not encouraged--particularly in the social sphere. People, as a result of their relative homogeneity, tend to think and act alike.(17)

This does not mean that all is harmonious within such systems. In fact, when trouble does break out, it tends to be intense and bitter. Strong forces operate to sustain consensus--tradition, an extensive network of close ties, frequent interaction, and widespread and prolonged discussion of issues with nearly everyone involved and heard from. When the broadest possible consensus has been achieved and a decision to act has been made, all are expected to go along for the good of the group (the community). People, however, are deeply involved in such a system and when consensus fails, feelings and emotions run high, deep cleavages are produced. Such a system, we might conclude, tends to be characterized by fewer but more intense controversies and conflicts.

**Interaction in the Urban Social System**

The urban social system has quite different characteristics. It features greater numbers of people, greater diversity of types of people and a higher density. These features produce, as outstanding scholars such as Simmel in Germany and Wirth in the United States have noted, a system with a differing tone—a differing quality of human relationships and interaction than characterizes smaller social systems.(22,31)

When the population of a community gets much beyond six or eight hundred persons, it becomes impossible for any individual to become acquainted, even casually, with everyone in the system; the larger the system, the smaller the proportion he can know, even slightly. The significant result is that, in the larger community, people are constantly brushing elbows with the stranger in their everyday activities. As Simmel noted, interaction between strangers is of a different character than interaction between close friends, neighbors or even acquaintances.

Interaction Between Strangers

The stranger is near (physically), yet distant in an important social sense. He is not a person to whom you are committed. He is largely an unknown entity to be dealt with cautiously and with reserve. He is identified only by those superficial external general qualities which he chooses to display and these may be very deceptive. Being an unknown entity in terms of basic qualities which count (eg., character), he may possibly be a disruptive force or even dangerous; in any event, he is disturbing as confrontation with the unknown is always somewhat disturbing. It seems better not to become involved until you know him better; but the frequent and extensive interaction necessary to "know him" is highly unlikely. The frequently observed indifference of the city dweller to many of those with whom he brushes elbows--his lack of commitment, his reserve, his unwillingness to become involved--are the products of such a social system.

The Prices of Coordinating a Large and Complex System

The very complexity of the heterogeneous large system, featuring maximum specialization of function, has intensifed the problems of coordination and integration to keep the system working at all. Regularity and predictability seem essential to its smooth operation; to achieve it, city men have attempted to objectify and rationalize human relationships--that is, to minimize or eliminate sponteneity, feelings and emotions. These are imponderables that cannot be measured and result in unpredictable outcomes. The urban system is epitomized by the clock and the market place mentality with its precise reduction of everything to a cost-price calculus. Men are valued as they manifest these traits. Perhaps the ideal for the system is epitomized by the man in the grey flannel suit--the bureaucratized conformist who moves with clocklike precision between the office and suburb, who sits coolly behind his desk and deals efficiently with secretaries, customers and paper alike. He often wears the correct smile, extends his hand in the correct hearty greeting, takes time to tell a joke to manifest his human quality. These, however, are merely stylized gestures of the system calculated to disguise its impersonal character. Beneath the smile is cool detachment. The hearty handshake does not mean commitment to the other person or his problems. What does this mean to the firm? What does it mean to the career? These are the crucial questions. As Louis Wirth put it, "The reserve, the indifference and the blase outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others."(31)

This does not mean, of course, that the urbanite has no close relationships with others. Studies have shown repeatedly that the city dweller attempts to sustain personal relationships with family, neighbors and friends. He undertakes a considerable amount of visiting, telephoning, and other sociability activity in the attempt to do so.(30) Some may argue that the "once or twice a week" or "few times a month" contacts with such persons which prevail are no substitute for the nearly daily contacts which inevitably occur in the small town; however, they also indicate that primary contacts do survive in the urban environment.

## Segregation and Lack of Perspective

Even if the urbanite does succeed in maintaining reasonably close ties with a limited circle of kin, neighbors and friends, a problem remains. These ties apply to relatively few members of his community. With most, his relationships are very tenuous and of the depersonalized, objectified and rationalized character previously described. Moreover, the problem of maintaining an integrated social system is compounded by the phenomenon of urban sprawl producing further segregation of people into areas noteworthy for their limited diversity. We see, for example, the creation of outlying suburbs catering to people within a limited range of incomes. These residents tend to be of a given social type--educationally, occupationally, associationally, politically and in terms of their system of values. In an upper-middle class suburb most will have college educations, most of the husbands will be pursuing careers in business and the professions, wives will belong to similar types of clubs and go to similar social affairs, both will have a middle-of-the road political orientation and stand firmly in support of "the American way."(10) What with commuting, devoting time to the family and the urban estate, advancing their careers and attending the numerous meetings associated with maintaining their business contacts and their suburb-oriented groups, such people have little time or inclination to cultivate contacts with other segments of the community who are conspicuous by their absence in such a suburb.

The problems of the disprivileged are far removed from the affluent suburb. It is difficult for the suburbanite to comprehend the way of life in the distant ghetto and the problems its residents face. That rats might gnaw a child's face at night seems scarcely believable, that a young person may be badly beaten up or knifed in a school corridor seems fantastic, that violence may be a way of life and willingness to resort to it necessary for survival is unintelligible to the sophisticated suburbanite. The problem, of course, is that, instead of an integrated network of social ties, the larger urban community features a patchwork of disparate social systems with few linkages. It is a fragmentized system. People are increasingly oriented to their special interest and reference groups; they decreasingly identify with the community as a whole.

## Alienation and Restiveness

The changed character of the social system as described probably has some connection with the apathy on the one hand and alienation on the other that have become a major concern of a number of writers. Feelings of anxiety, depersonalization, rootlessness, powerlessness, meaninglessness and the like characterize the alienated person. He cannot see that he has a place or a purpose. He sees himself as buffeted about by forces which he cannot control, not as an active, creative, self-determining, responsible person.

There seems to be rather widespread agreement among a variety of behavioral scientists that these feelings are an unanticipated and unwanted byproduct of the urban-industrial social system. The new autonomy of the individual which began so promisingly during the Renaissance has become the murky anonymity of the powerless. The new regard for individual freedom did not lead, for the masses, to the release of human creative potential and a more meaningful identity. Perhaps this was because, while men achieved political freedom, they became enslaved to the machine and its impersonal requirements of strict discipline and robot-like regularity. Those who did not become so enslaved, in the factory, found themselves brought into the fold of the giant bureaucracies which were brought into existence to oversee the intricate production and marketing processes. These also submerged the individual—subjecting him to new rules, regularities and hierarchies of command. Facing its concentrated power, the individual was coerced, brainwashed, manipulated and forced to repress his feelings about it all. As the Josephsons put it in a book entitled Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society, "Increasing division of labor, greater mechanization, the growth of [impersonal] giant . . . enterprises--these are the agents of our economic power and also of individual powerlessness."(12) The individual becomes a bartered instrument, working for ends determined by others and he has to pretend to like it. And again, in a compelling comment on our system, they wrote, "Working chiefly to consume, consuming to achieve status, accumulating things that have no meaning, wasting on a gigantic scale--these are the conditions in which we live. The result is a wasteland of junk and of human aspirations."(12)

Little wonder that we face increasing signs of restiveness, hostility and out and out rebellion on the part of our youth. They are impatient with the myth of the rich life in the affluent urban society with its depersonalized manipulative character and weakened social ties. Man as Aristotle long ago pointed out, is a social animal. Without meaningful social ties to others, those in which the individual is known and his integrity respected, a person does not develop a sense of his own worth, self-esteem or carve out a satisfying place in the world.

## PARTICIPATION IN THE ORGANIZED COMMUNITY

### Voluntary Organizations

An important aspect of American communities is the wide variety of organizations (termed voluntary associations) which they feature. Even a small community will feature dozens of such organizations; in the urban community, their range and number will be vastly increased. Sociologists account for the proliferation of organizations in American society by citing the relatively diffuse and permissive power situation. Our democratic ethos encourages people to participate while effective participation in a diffuse power situation depends, to a considerable degree, upon effective organization. Additionally, the American culture promotes the ideal of activism - of taking an active part in the affairs of the society. These are major factors creating a demand for voluntary associations and generating their proliferation.

### The Place of the Voluntary Organization in Community Action

We find aesthetic-cultural, agricultural, business-industrial, civic service, educational, political-governmental, professional, recreational, religious, social-fraternal, veterans-patriotic, welfare and youth-home type voluntary associations in every reasonably complete community. These organizations are the "workhorses" through which much community action is undertaken. Community leaders may plan and initiate ventures, but the community organizations usually carry a heavy load in legitimizing and executing these ventures.

Understanding American communities as settings for concerted action, therefore, inevitably involves knowledge of their voluntary associational structure. We shall attempt, briefly, at this point to examine such important matters as who participates, how they get involved, how urbanization affects such participation and how this participation relates to community action.

**Lack of Participation: A Problem**

First, we note that a substantial segment of the American public - despite the encouragement given by the culture - does not participate. Studies based upon national samples have shown that about half of America's families and nearly two-thirds of her individual adults do not belong to any type of voluntary association (excluding unions).(32) These people are, obviously, not to be reached through voluntary associational channels.

A second fact to remember is the extent of public participation varies greatly according to the types of association being discussed. Only unions and fraternal or secret societies have relatively extensive public memberships. It may come as a surprise to learn that only small fractions of the adult public belong to church-sponsored organizations, or to youth-promoting and professional associations. Few organizations, in other words, can speak for the masses.

Thirdly, not all types of Americans participate equally in voluntary associational life. The national studies show that some segments of the public are relatively easy to engage but others are exceedingly difficult to involve. For example, it appears that nearly three-fourths of American Negro adults and 70% of American Catholic adults belong to no type of formally organized voluntary association. Additionally, about three-fourths of our adults in the lowest income bracket, over 80% of those with only grammar school education and three-fourths of those at the lower occupational status levels (semi-skilled and unskilled workers) hold no memberships if union memberships are excluded. It is important to realize that major segments of the public will not be heard from if leaders solicit only the opinions of the organized groups in the community.

Apparently, expectations of the sub-culture in which the individual lives have much to do with whether or not he becomes involved. William H. Whyte, for example, has documented the "outgoing life" of the middle-class suburb in which there is great pressure to join up, with common interest in children providing a strong motivation to promote various neighborhood and community betterment programs.(29) On the other hand, as documented by Caroline Ware, there are areas of cities to which the less conventional are attracted; these people are likely to be strongly individualistic and anti-organizational in their orientation. These people, not to be reached through normal organizational channels, are often creative pace-setters.(25) In the slum, social organization is something else again. As documented by William F. Whyte, the dominant features of organization are street gangs, the racketeers, politicians and the police. Voluntary associations play lesser roles in the lives of people living in this area also.(28)

Urbanization and voluntary associational emphasis have a relationship. As the mass of the community is increased, the number and range of community organizations markedly increase. In the differentiated heterogeneous larger community, it is possible for a person with almost any special interest to locate others with a similar interest and organize a group to promote friendly interaction centered about that interest. Not only are the possibilities for formally organized interaction increased, but urbanites - with some exception - seem to "take" more to formally organized activities. Thus, the studies show that the participation levels of urban residents are higher than those of rural residents living nearby and, additionally, that the participation rates tend to increase with increased size of place (metropolitan counties containing large cities have been found to feature significantly higher rates of formal participation than primarily rural counties containing no large towns).

**Community Cleavages**

Problems of community cleavage are indicated by studies which contrast the formal participation of rural and town residents.(18) In the modern era, when transportation presents little problem and town centers are therefore closely affiliated with large hinterland rural areas, integration has taken place physically but not socially. The memberships of the farm people in the territory surrounding the community center are typically concentrated heavily in a limited number of agricultural type voluntary associations; while those of townspeople are more diversified, few include the agricultural type. As far as interaction is concerned, a cleavage or gap exists between the rural and town segments of the community population. If understanding and consensus are to be found, means of bridging this gap must be sought. This would seem particularly important in connection with the development of facilities and services serving the entire area population (egs. of water resources, of vocational training schools and of hospitals). In the presence of such barriers to mutual understanding and cooperation, development programs satisfying the needs of all may be imperiled.

What are the implications of participation in voluntary associations for community action programs? It has been discovered that participants in such organizations are significantly more interested in social issues (the local schools, city planning, minority problems and the like) than are nonparticipants, that their levels of political interest and action are higher (they take more of an interest in national and international affairs and vote more often), and they voluntarily put more money into welfare ventures (for example, United Funds and Community Chests) than do nonparticipants.(32) Thus it would seem that the community with a rich network of voluntary associations which embrace a high proportion of its population is more likely to be a viable community than one in which major segments are indifferent to social life beyond the boundaries of their families and kinship groups. Further, the findings suggest that it is possible to broaden the base for social action in almost any community by working through its existing network of associations, making certain that the maximum range of significant associations are brought into the planning and action processes. If this is not done, planning officials run the risk of ultimate rejection of the program conceived in royalist fashion at the top and then imposed.

### Involving People

How do you involve people actively? Interest in an issue plays a part; however, this in itself may be insufficient. Sills made a detailed study of participation in the National Foundation (formerly the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, better known as The March of Dimes). His findings, reported in a book colorfully entitled The Volunteers, showed that people become actively involved in community action mainly because they are invited to do so by persons with whom they have previously established meaningful relations.(21) Only one in ten of the persons active in this organization had become so on his own initiative. The lesson is clear: overwhelmingly, people get actively involved in community programs because they are asked to do so by their friends, neighbors and associates - others with whom they have long-standing role relationships involving mutual obligations. The leader who would broaden the base of participation in his program would do well to note the implications.

## COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES AND LEADERSHIP

### The Reality of Power Structures

Power may be defined simply as the capacity to produce intended results. It is a phenomenon of inequality - an asymmetrical relationship in which one unit secures the compliance of another. All interpersonal relations, organizations, communities and societies are shot through with power. Who holds it and how they use it is an important determinant of what gets done and what does not.

Some idealists, while not quite daring to deny that inequality exists in America, play down its effects. They find it more comfortable to believe that, in the main, America is ruled by the masses through their elected representatives. They suspect that "some people are more equal than others" and that the opinions of some carry more weight than those of others when it comes to important decisions, but they would rather not dwell on it. The realist, on the other hand, accepts these facts and utilizes information on the structuring of power to increase the probability of an outcome he believes desirable.

### Importance of the Backing of Influentials

In any social system, we find men with reputations for exerting unusual influence on important decisions. That such persons' backing is important has been indicated by recent studies in areas as far removed from each other as the Midwest and New England. Dakin found, in studying a development program in four areas of Kansas, that the areas in which the programs had the most positive support and the most active backing of the influentials were also the areas in which the development programs materialized most rapidly.(4) Gamson, studying the outcomes on a variety of issues in eighteen New England communities found that when the influentials of these communities were both active and united with respect to an issue, they were on the winning side three-fourths of the time; further, that a side supporting a change won only 30 per cent of the time without the united support of the influentials, but two-thirds of the time with it.(9) It is thus very clear that the views held by the power people and the extent to which they give or withhold their support are important determinants of what gets done and even how fast it gets done.

It is important to note the use of the term capacity in the definition of power. It is not necessary that coercion be actually applied (credit used, resources expended) for power to be effective. In fact, the resort to force may actually result in a diminished ability to secure compliance on the next important issue to come up. The wise holder of power recognizes this and is extremely judicious in the way he expends the resources which provide the foundation for his power. This is an important point because some investigators have identified those who were highly active on an important issue (who were, that is, busily consuming their time, energy and other resources in behalf of a project) and mistakenly believed they had identified the top power structure of the community. The fact is, these people are likely to be underlings - the effectors of decisions reached at higher levels.

## Power and Resources

Robert Bierstedt, in a definitive analysis of the nature of power, has noted the close connection between power and command of resources.(1) The three major types of resources a power-holder can call upon to secure compliance when an important decision is to be reached are people, organization, and technical and financial resources. As Bierstedt puts it, given the same organization and the same resources, the larger entity can secure the compliance of the smaller; given, however, superior organization (a clear cut assignment of roles, superior strategy and tactics, effective allocation of resources) a unit that is smaller in numbers and possesses fewer resources than another can outmaneuver and control it; finally, given two groups of nearly equal size, comparably organized, the one with access to the greater resources will have the superior capacity to produce an intended result. Note from this that effective power depends only upon its being evident that superior numbers, organization or technical and financial resources could be called upon if necessary.

**Identifying Men of Influence**

The real power structure, as a consequence, is a subtle and often covert thing, difficult for outsiders to see and appraise. Key people are seldom openly the most active and they often avoid publicity. Look, however, for those who have key resources at their disposal and you will find the holders of power: those with strategic knowledge (the lawyer, the natural scientist, who know what may and may not be done with given resources); those who can call up the support of significant numbers of people for a position they take (the spokesman for a minority group, the boss of a major political party); those commanding effective organizations (businessmen and militarists who head up well disciplined organizations employing imaginative strategies and tactics); and, finally, those who own or have access to substantial financial resources (the men of wealth and the bankers).

**Variations in Power Structures and the Implications**

Community power structures of American communities vary from the autocratic-centralized structure with its tight reigns of control over virtually everything of importance that happens in the community to the loosely knit pluralistic structure in which shifting coalitions determine outcomes. The type which prevails has major significance for those trying to activate programs since those in positions of major power can effectively sanction or veto such programs.

**The autocratic-centralized structure**

An ideal example of the autocratic-centralized type was the manoral-fief community of medieval Europe. The lord was sovereign over all affairs taking place on the manor; his brand of justice was dispensed through his own manor court. No American community, of course, quite fits this model. However, the temporary communities of migratory agricultural workers living on an employer's land, occupying his housing and able to do so only at his continued pleasure, enjoying only such rights as he chooses to grant them, approach the type. Company towns and single industry towns or cities also approximate the model.

An example in the Midwest was provided by the Lynds' carefully researched Middletown studies.(14) It was very clear that the real power in this community of about 50,000 people was held by the so-called "X" family. The family owned the town's major industry, its major bank, its largest department store and its milk processing plant. It had endowed and exercized control over the college located in the community; it was one of the town's largest real estate developers and the major subsidizer of such community service organizations as the hospital, the YMCA and YWCA and several churches. All of the leading law firms were retained by the X family. A member of the family was president of the local school board. The family had a major stock interest in the local newspaper. Members of the family occupied high positions in both major political parties. There was scarcely a major institution (business, education, religion, etc.) in which some member of the family did not occupy a strategic post.

The clique dominated structure

Between the autocratic-centralized type and the shifting pluralistic-coalition type is a clique dominated structure. In this instance, a small and markedly stable group holds the reigns of real power. Hunter documented the type in his Community Power Structure.(11)

In Southern Regional City (a community of approximately one half million people) about 40 men made the important decisions, operating on an informal basis - discussions held over lunch, in each other's homes, at their exclusive clubs, etc. These men were mainly drawn from the top echelon of the business class: 16 were top administrators of large-scale commercial and industrial enterprises; seven were top administrators in banking and investments; six were from the professions (five of whom were lawyers); four were political and governmental leaders; two were labor union officials; five were "leisured" persons. This top group was a well-knit unit of persons having numerous contacts with each other. Typically, the top leaders would discuss important issues and proposals to deal with them informally. Formal community organizations were brought in only after a decision had been made and action was getting under way on a project. The role of such organizations was to expedite policies already determined by the top leaders; the largest and most prominent of these organizations were led by ambitious young men trying to make their marks. When they were called in by one of the top power leaders and asked to put a program across, they felt flattered and were eager to do a good job. They might make it into the top circle only after serving their apprenticeship by performing such assignments efficiently. However, only those also making it into the higher echelons of the economic buraucracy were likely to join the power elite. As Hunter noted, "Organization leaders are prone to get the publicity; the upper echelon economic leaders, the power."

**The coalitions structure**

Miller's study of Pacific City and Long's study of Boston document the existence of communities with more fluid and broadly representative power structures. The key feature of this type is relative heterogeneity at the top. Instead of a system dominated by persons from one segment of the society or a very few holding top power, the system features more dispersion of power than the other types. Pacific City, a Northwestern community of about 500,000, had a power structure more broadly representative of the institutional sectors than Southern Regional City. Businessmen made up only one third of the top influentials and the top influentials did not constitute a single "crowd" as they had in Southern Regional City. Instead, the top power level was constituted of at least four stable groups: one of Republican businessmen, one of labor people, one of Democrats, and a fourth stemming from the activities of the Council of Churches. Coalitions between these crowds were necessary to carry clear-cut majorities on issues. As Miller put it,

> "Key influentials do not repeatedly act in concert . . . There is no crowd pattern in Pacific City . . . There are key leaders who bring other influentials around them when they are responsible for getting a civic project carried out . . . there is a significant degree of fluidity."(16)

Long discovered, through his studies in the Boston Metropolitan area, that the community decision-making process was best viewed as a territorially based social system within which the leaders played determinate primary roles and employed calculable strategies and tactics. There were political games, banking games, contracting games, newspaper games, civic organization games, ecclesiastical games and many others going on simultaneously. Each top leader spent most of his time and devoted most of his energy to a primary role as corporation executive, wealthy man, high-ranking ecclesiastic, labor leader and the like. His top leadership role in the community was derivative from his primary role (which gave him significant access to resources). An important community issue (eg., building a new highway) would have relevance to most if not all of these primary roles. Its anticipated effect, however, would not be viewed in the same terms or from the same point of view by those playing these powerful primary roles.(13) A proposal for a highway by-pass, for example, might have adverse effects on a real estate development financed by the banker; the politician and the contractor might view the proposal very favorably because the politician might get favorable publicity for being a live-wire at getting state money for the community and advancing employment while the contractor would view it as an opportunity to make money; an important downtown businessman might view it with alarm as a means for potential customers to by-pass his business; the ecclesiastic leader might have little interest in this particular issue but go along with the proponents in exchange for their support on a zoning proposal which he knows is coming up later. This community game play is a complicated pulling and hauling process with various roles collaborating for different and particular ends related mainly to their primary roles. The coalitions shift with the issue.

The implications of these variations in structure for community development programs and the means for undertaking them are many and important. First, take the matter of tightness of control. A community like Middletown is tightly controlled through investment of substantial resources in nearly every important sector of community life; unilateral control over these resources was obviously maintained by the "X" family. Such a situation is not characterized by pulling and hauling - that is, by compromise. It is a case of a single dominant peak of power overlooking a gently rolling plateau; a single unit can bring overwhelming resources to bear on any issue and thus decide the issue. The population may enjoy numerous benefits, as under a benevelant and charitable father. That situation, however, is fortuitous; it could just as well be the other way. Either way, the people are not masters of their destinies; they do not participate in major decisions. Such a situation is degrading to free men and likely to produce resentments even when benefits are received. In Pacific City, important decisions may not be brought down very often to the level of the average citizen; nevertheless, such a structure of power is much more amenable to his having a say in important matters. In this situation, there is no single dominating peak of power, but several more or less equal and competing peaks. Since coalitions are necessary to achieve clear supremacy for a given proposal, power holders are seeking outside support. This provides interested publics with their opportunity; their valuable support may be bargained for.

Secondly, take the matter of dispersion. The better representation of sectors with differing points-of-view and differing ends in mind within the pluralistic structure is likely to produce solutions maximizing the benefits or minimizing the losses for more people. Each of the primary roles may be viewed as having its associated clientele. It will not deliberately do things harmful to that clientele. Thus, in a sense, the greater the variety of key roles being played in the game, the greater the variety and number of clienteles whose interests are being protected.

A third implication has to do with the objectification of issues. Objectification is not at all necessary in the situation in which a party has overwhelming power and is thus in a position to act unilaterally. He may make a decision on the basis of a whim or personal prejudice. It cannot be challenged. In the context of the pluralistic power structure, however, there are always those present who can and will challenge unsound and ill-thought-out proposals which carry adverse potential for their primary roles and their clienteles.

**Local and Cosmopolitan Leadership**

Leaders in communities have been characterized by sociologists in many ways: according to their functions, according to the tactics they employ, and according to their orientations, among others. The classification of influentials as locals or cosmopolitans is one of the most interesting and significant. Robert K. Merton, one of America's leading social theorists, has written of the two types in a study of Rovere reported in a book entitled Communications Research edited by Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton.(15) It was found that the interests of some influentials were confined almost entirely to the local community while others had strong interests outside it - in national and international affairs particularly. The first type were found to be great "local patriots" who never thought of leaving Rovere. Only a few of the cosmopolitans felt this way. Most of the locally oriented influentials were long-term residents (over twenty-five years); the cosmopolitans were typically much shorter term residents. The local influentials were an older group than the cosmopolitans. They emphasized a different type of organizational participation than the cosmopolitans; the locals belonged to organizations designed for making contacts and establishing personal ties while the cosmopolitans tended to belong to task-oriented organizations in which they could make use of their special knowledge and skills. Thus the first type emphasized participation in such organizations as Elks, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis and Masons, while the cosmopolitans emphasized participation in professional and hobby organizations. The locals were not as well educated as the cosmopolitans and, while most locals were in "big business" (for Rovere), about half the cosmopolitans were professional people. Who you know is extremely important to the local, what you know is more important to the cosmopolitan. It appears that the following of the local influential and his prestige depend very much upon his building up and sustaining an extensive network of contacts; the prestige and following of the cosmopolitan seem to depend more upon his specialized skills and experience.

The proportions of locals to cosmopolitans in the power and influence structures of communities is very significant in setting the tone of the community - the type of official leadership likely to be brought in and the types of programs the community is likely to accept. For example, the "tightness" or "looseness" of community administration is connected with the local or cosmopolitan orientations of those in strategic positions. In the administration of school systems, the local orientation has been found to be connected with a tight structure with strict controls over educational administration. As Pinner put it in his study,

"The influentials in one community being profoundly

> interested in local affairs, were bound to subject all community functions to constant scrutiny and to accept or reject policies as they seemed to be in agreement with or contradictory to commonly accepted standards (in the local community)."

Looser controls are manifest in the community characterized by cosmopolitan oriented leadership; such people are willing to leave the running of the schools to the professionals and to interested groups among the citizenry (such as the PTAs).

## COMMUNITY CLEAVAGES AND COMMUNITY CONFLICT

A German sociologist long ago observed that small groups tend to be bound together by stronger emotional attachments than do larger groups. However, he also noted that, upon those less frequent occasions when trouble did break out in the smaller group, it was likely to become extremely intense.(23)

### Urbanization and Conflict

Applying these principles to communities, we may assert that increasing urbanization, accompanied by increasing size and heterogeneity of communities is likely to result in increasing frequency of controversy and conflict but not necessarily increasing intensity of these processes. Those in charge of community planning and development programs have an obvious interest in understanding the nature of these processes which can divide and disrupt a community and make concerted action impossible: the relation of the community setting to controversy and conflict, the dynamics of these processes, and the possible points of leverage which may be used to prevent controversy from exploding into violent and destructive conflict.

The size of the community has, as previously noted, a great deal to do with both its heterogeneity and the extent to which formal organization is developed and emphasized; the larger the community, the more heterogeneous its population and the greater the development of and emphasis upon formal organization. In the larger community, people are more likely to belong to a variety of special interest groups, each of which involves only a relatively small proportion of the population. They are, moreover, only segmentally attached to each of these. An individual having multiple memberships in such groups is likely to find that they stand for different things. The results of this truly pluralistic organizational setting is that (a) the proportion of the population becoming involved in a given controversy is likely to be low, (b) the segmentally attached person (one lacking strong emotional attachments to the organization) is hard to arouse and commit to extreme action, and (c) the multiple membership person who finds the various organizations to which he belongs taking differing positions on a dispute is likely to find himself effectively neutralized and, as a result, he remains a passive bystander to the controversy. These observations help to explain the fact that the intensity of conflict is likely to be mitigated in a large social system.

Another feature of the larger community operates to reinforce this dulling of disputes. The organizational units in the larger community are apt to increase in size and formality of operation. Such units tend to be less precipitous in action;

they rely more upon rules of procedure and they tend to take middle-of-the road positions on issues because they feature broader spectrums of membership than do smaller units. We all know what happens when controversial matters come up in large formal organizations - someone merely suggests that the matter be referred to a committee. This suggestion is accepted with relief because it is a means of pigeonholing a matter which would likely alienate a significant part of the membership.

## The Character of a Community and Conflict

The character of a community as well as its size has a bearing on the likelihood and intensity of controversy and conflict. Coleman, in a monograph entitled Community Conflict, has examined numerous case studies of the processes of controversy and conflict in American communities.(3) He finds that communities with the following characteristics are particularly conducive to the outbreak of intense disputes:

(1) Communities featuring sharp differentiation are likely to breed sharp disputes along the lines of the basic structural cleavage. The factory town is likely to feature such basic structural cleavages with workers sharply set off economically, socially and even residentially from the businessmen-managers. Such a community is polarized to begin with and plant disputes, often of an inconsequential nature at the start, are quickly magnified and compounded into bitterness and violence. Another example is the agricultural service community with its basic social and residential cleavages between countrypeople and townspeople, farmers and merchant-businessmen. Another important instance is the community invaded by substantial

numbers of outsiders (immigrants of some racial minority, or even certain tourists in the case of the resort town).

(2) Communities featuring relatively weak community identification and strong reference group identity are likely breeding places for intense controversy and conflict. This is the psychological aspect of cleavage vs. unity. If most individuals and organized groups in a community feel that their futures are closely linked to that of the community as a whole, disagreements tend to be constrained and kept within bounds; conscious attempts are made at conciliation. If, on the other hand, they identify their futures closely with factions which serve as their reference groups, intense conflicts using any and all available means to destroy the opposition are more likely.

(3) Communities featuring low density of organizations are less likely to feature disputes but more likely to feature intense conflict than are communities with high density of organizations. In the highly organized town, people are likely to be put under great pressure to take sides in a dispute because of their organizational affiliations. However, as previously noted, community associations of large size tend to take middle-of-the road positions on issues and also, we should note, they tend to limit the means of controversy. In the low organizational density town, fewer people are likely to be drawn into controversy, but those who are confront fewer restraints on extremist acts. It is generally the spontaneously organized mob rather than the organizationally sponsored demonstrating crowd that resorts to extreme measures and destructive violence.

(4) In a closely related point, Coleman asserts that the community featuring a low level of participation in community associations is more likely to feature extreme and intense controversy and conflict than one in which participation is widespread and high. Again, associational membership tends to curb extreme and irresponsible action. We may note that the sharply stratified community featuring a relatively large proportion of unorganized lower-status deprived and frustrated people whose mobility is blocked by lack of educational and occupational opportunities is increasingly likely to be the scene of intense and violent conflict. The deep resentments of such people may be rather quickly turned by a skilled demagogue into highly personalized and destructive hostility directed against specific targets with no holds barred.

## The Typical Pattern of Community Conflict

Community controversies developing into disruptive and destructive conflict follow a surprisingly clear-cut pattern of development. The pattern may, at certain strategic points, be short-circuited. Community leaders have an obvious interest in understanding the process of developing controversy and, especially, in how to prevent it from going the full cycle. The following points characterize the general pattern:

(1) A specific issue of disagreement appears; frequently, it is a relatively minor matter such as disagreement over whether a specific book should be allowed in the high school library.

(2) A limited number of people feel strongly one way or

another about the issue.

(3) The few who feel strongly, seeking support, enlarge, magnify and multiply the issues in order to elicit response from more people. For example, the dispute which began over whether a given book which someone objected to should be in the high school library becomes in time a matter of a stand for or against liberal ideas, for or against Communism, for or against a progressive philosophy of education.

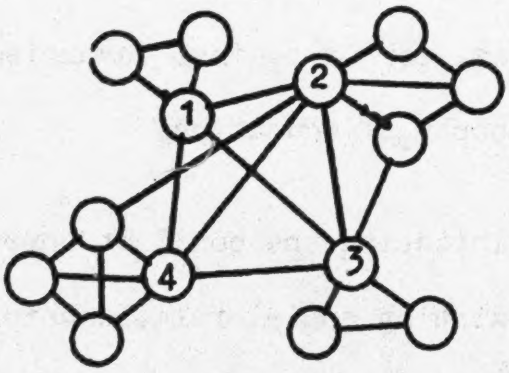
(4) Those precipitating the conflict enmesh others by making use of pre-existing social relationships with others involving reciprocal obligations; the appeal is increasingly emotional and stresses social ties and obligations. A person is increasingly pressured to take a stand to be unequivocably for or against the friend, neighbor, colleague or associate.

(5) Disagreement is transformed into antagonism. The small dispute in which dispassionate discussion was possible has increased in extensity and intensity until it has become a large quarrel demanding passionate allegiance. The opposition has become the enemy, viewed increasingly as evil. Things (issues) and people become increasingly black or white as antagonism mounts.

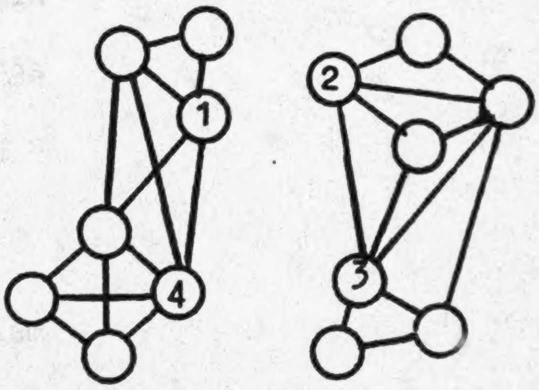
(6) Personalized charges and countercharges are hurled. Persons as well as issues are attacked with increasing vehemence.

(7) Neutrality becomes increasingly difficult to maintain as the community's social network is polarized. What is

happening may be visualized as a transformation from a network of social relations of type A to one of Type B. Old cleavages are intensifed and new ones are created. Both camps put mounting pressure on their members to sever social relations with acquaintances, friends, neighbors and associates in the enemy camp.



(A) AN INTEGRATED SOCIAL SYSTEM



(B) A POLARIZED SOCIAL SYSTEM

We should note especially the reallignment of social interaction among the system-integrating persons denoted 1, 2, 3 and 4 in the diagrams. They have, in this instance, succumbed to social pressure and abandoned their community integration roles. We also note the tendency toward closure within the two distinct sub systems into which the community has become polarized in diagram B. This is in response to expectations that relationships between sub-system members will be established and intensified.

(8) New "partisan" leadership tends to emerge, displacing the old leadership. These partisan leaders are a different breed than the former community leaders: they tend to be younger, more aggressive, more extreme in their ideas, more vitriolic in their utterances and they are ready to accept

violence as a legitimate means to their ends. They are, in short, the fighting type called forth in a crisis.

(9) During the phase of individual recruitment, the organizational power structure remains somewhat aloof. However, during the final phases, the expanded movement attempts to involve organizations and thus to enhance its power base for making demands. The movement members bring pressure on the organizations to which they belong. Only if internal balances and external constraints prevail can an organization successfully maintain its neutrality, despite the inclinations of the older more responsible leadership.

(10) As the conflict develops, the extent and impact of informal "word of mouth" communications increases. New and informal communication nets come into existence. These tend to be inflamatory and highly emotional because they are dominated by partisans. The community is flooded with slander and all sorts of rumors. People standing on the sidelines don't know what to believe while those involved believe what they want.

## Forestalling Conflict

Understanding the nature of support and opposition as a process generated by social relationships or ties in an existing social system offers the possibility for responsible community leaders to avoid situations taking the full course outlined above. Public bodies have been attacked in many communities by extremist activists and have been in a position to successfully withstand such attacks. The key factor has been that they have established close relationships with diverse responsible elements in the community prior to the crisis. Thus, when they called for support, it was forthcoming. Such relationships are, of course, established over a prolonged period during which policies and information are carefully worked out and exchanged in an atmosphere of objectivity. It is too late after a crisis has erupted. It should be realized, too, that issues are best and most easily settled when they are minor and relatively objective. A full hearing of both sides at the earliest possible moment may settle matters. Differences should be faced, not forestalled. Many a flouridation controversy, we suspect, could have been nipped in the bud had light been shed at the outset by open discussion based on objective information before any move was made to change the water. Finally, the shift from responsible to partisan leadership and organization can be short-circuited if the existing leadership and organizations are successfully urged to take the initiative in confronting rather than withdrawing from live community issues. It is continued high-handed ignoring or frustrating of the goals and aspirations of significant segments of the community population that results in mounting tension until the lid blows off. This group is ordinarily deceptively passive. However, an active minority, given only a small issue, can fan its frustrations into community-wrecking violence.

## COMMUNITY INTERRELATIONSHIPS

It has been pointed out previously that the growth and increasing sprawl of communities has tended to fragment them into a number of segregated sub-communities which are weakly tied together. Many persons today have less to do with those living "across the tracks" or in segregated ghettos than they do with business and professional contacts living in other parts of the state or nation. This tendency toward internal fragmentation as communities increase in size is a sociological phenomenon of great significance. We turn now to consideration of its counterpart - the community's external relations.

### Decreasing Autonomy

Each community, of course, exists in a setting which includes other important social units - other communities, counties, states, and the national society. At this level, the trend is somewhat different than it is with respect to internal relationships. Communities are less and less isolated, less and less independent, less and less autonomous. They are now linked to this outside world by a physical network of high speed roads, railroads and airlines and a social network of state, regional and national organizations which transcend local boundaries. In the not too distant past, most people made infrequent and short distance sojourns into the outside world. They were less concerned with that world and what happened in it seemed to have less impact on their lives.

On the inter-community level, the situation is one of increasing de facto integration in the sense of actual economic and political interaction and interdependence. Economically, we find state, regional and national level business firms producing and distributing more and more of the nation's goods. Policy decisions vitally affecting a community are thus made by high-ranking business bureaucrats located elsewhere. Politically, state and national governments are increasing in size, assuming an increasing number of functions and intruding powerfully in affairs once considered local. The community often resents, but it cannot ignore this increasing integration with the outside world.

**The Shift in Decision-Making**

The locus of important decision-making has shifted toward state, regional and national metropolitan centers with significant consequences. Warner and Low, for example, found Yankee City (a smaller New England industrial community) losing control of its shoe factories to outside investors as early as the 1940s. As a result, community traditions and attitudes, community ordinances and laws, community neighborhood and friendship ties between the workers and management became less and less important determinants of the way the factories were operated. Local people felt their interests and welfare were increasingly ignored, that the top executives - far removed from the town - issued their orders in conformity with cold business logic without regard to their impact on Yankee City. Social distance between a top echelon of the power structure and the people increased; a deep schism was created which increased the potential for bitter and prolonged conflict in this community. In fact, such a conflict did materialize - a strike - during which the local economy was badly disrupted.

Interestingly, the strike had the effect of producing a further transfer of power to the outside; to increase their resources for the conflict, the management lined up with a national manufacturer's association and the workers with a large labor union.(26)

Documenting the political trend, Vidich and Bensman studied a small New England community in detail. They found that the village board, the community's formally constituted governing agency, had been reduced to absolutely essential housekeeping chores and ceremonial functions. It met regularly; but it avoided as much decision-making as possible and would undertake no new projects. It left the real governing to outside organizations and agencies.(24) As the authors put it,

> "In almost every area . . . the board has adjusted its action to the regulations and laws externally defined by outside agencies . . . Though such agencies and their representatives are frequently resented by the community and though local officials talk bitterly of them, their services are accepted and sought . . . A high proportion of the village budget represents subsidies from the state government. The major social services of the community are either provided or paid for by outside agencies."

The prospect is for further integration and interdependency at the inter-community level. Community planners and developers will have to deal not only with local men of power but with the representatives of outside firms and agencies which have invested substantial resources in the community.

This trend has made some sense. The large unit (business or political) has the resources to undertake developments which the locals are either unwilling or unable to undertake. Also, they are able to bring a level of expertise to the job which many locals cannot. Further, they can operate at a scale which achieves certain economies which the small unit does not.

## The Possibilities of Integration: Complexes of Communities

There is much reason to explore the possibilities for further integration on rational economic grounds - especially of expensive public facilities and services and especially in smaller communities. The array of expected facilities and services in a community viewed as a good place to live by people whose appetites have been whet by affluence is ever increasing; meeting these expectations would place an impossibly heavy tax burden on the smaller place. It cannot afford to go its own way, attempting to provide everything people have come to expect. However, with the development of the transportation net, many communities are just a few minutes driving time from each other via good all-weather roads; thus, fortunately, they do not have to make this attempt. They may link with other nearby communities to form a regional complex and plan a rational distribution of facilities and services on an area basis.

In the early 1960s, it was proposed that three or four communities located not over twenty or twenty-five miles from each other could integrate in order that they might survive as viable units. Each would become specialized; each would develop a special complex of closely interrelated facilities which the others would not duplicate. For example, one would develop a complex of medical clinics, laboratories and a hospital to to serve the population of the entire regional complex. Another would develop a consolidated high school, vocational training institute and library to serve the regional complex. Still another might emphasize a complex of interrelated recreational facilities. The area population would provide a sufficient resource base to achieve excellence of facilities and services.

A mechanism was proposed to achieve this integration - an area board comprised of representatives from each community in the complex. Each community might be guaranteed a certain minimum representation on the board and each limited to a certain maximum representation.

There is little doubt that such a development would involve certain difficulties. Rivalries do exist between communities; people may be reluctant to give up a single local facility. However, a guarantee that each community would become the center for certain specialized facilities and services should help to overcome this problem.

The response to this proposal, when it was researched in one area of Kansas to determine the climate for such a venture, was heartening.(*) Fifteen persons occupying key community positions (mayors, school board chairmen, leading bankers, leading lawyers and the like) were interviewed in each of three communities located less than 20 miles from each other. The objective of the research was to secure their responses to the

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(*) Edward Dawson and Marvin Vialle, "Regional Complex Feasibility Survey," an unpublished research report under the direction of Ralph E. Dakin, May, 1963.

idea of a regional complex proposal and, more specifically, what facilities and services they thought were best suited to integration. Approximately two-thirds of these community leaders were optimistic about the prospects for such integration ("entirely" or "largely" feasible, they said). They thought such integrated complexes could cut across county lines and that, ideally, such a complex would be made up of about three communities, each located not more than 15 miles from the others. They felt such a complex would result in a more efficient use of resources and that better facilities and services would be achieved. Libraries, medical centers, airports, recreation areas, high schools, court systems and industrial parks seemed to them best suited to such integration. They felt that newspapers, fire stations, grade schools and police protection were not as well suited to such a development and, moreover, that the public would not accept integration of these facilities and services.

In short, the results of this one study indicate there are a number of opportunities for the achievement of a more rational distribution of facilities and services than presently exists. Whether these opportunities are realized or not will depend largely upon whether or not a mechanism is worked out to reduce inter-community competition and foster inter-community cooperation. This will require experimentation with new structures such as the "Regional Complex Board". Such structures may be an answer to the problem of the impossible autonomy of communities at the one extreme and the total capitulation of local authority to state and national power at the other.

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